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THE CRIMINAL CODES AND PENAL INSTITUTIONS OF COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA.

By Professor Harry E. Barnes,

Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts.

I. The Criminal Codes.

1. *Introductory.*

In order to interpret intelligently the content and significance of the criminal codes of colonial Pennsylvania it is necessary to understand the general nature of criminal jurisprudence at the time, and the relation that the Pennsylvania codes bore to the prevailing trends in contemporary criminal law.[1] Judged by present-day standards, the criminal laws of colonial times were extremely severe in the penalties they prescribed. A much larger number of capital crimes existed than are listed on the statute books of today. From ten to eighteen crimes, for which the death penalty was prescribed, was usual in the colonial period. The situation in England was, of course, far worse. There, at the close of the eighteenth century, some three hundred capital crimes were specified. Even more striking is the difference in penalties prescribed for crimes not capital. Instead of imprisonment some form of corporal punishment or fines was imposed. Imprisonment, as a method of punishment, was first permanently applied in this country in the period following 1789 in Pennsylvania.

In general, it may be said that the criminal codes of colonial Pennsylvania passed through three major transformations. The English or Puritan system was first introduced in 1676. This was superseded by the mild and humane Quaker code of 1682, which was a new and revolutionary departure in criminal jurisprudence. On account of friction over the Quaker demand for

[1] I have discussed the general setting of colonial criminal jurisprudence in an article in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, May, 1921.

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affirmation rather than oath-taking in court procedure, the English government in 1718 compelled the reëstablishment of the Puritan code, which remained in force until after the close of the Revolutionary War.

2. *The Original Criminal Code of 1676.*

On September 25, 1676, Governor Edmund Andros promulgated the laws of the Duke of York by an executive ordinance and thereby made them applicable to Pennsylvania.[2] These laws had been compiled under the Duke's authority to be applied in the government of the territory he had conquered from the Dutch. They were described as having been "collected out of the several laws now in force in his Majesty's American Colonies and Plantations and digested into one volume for the public use of the territories in America under the government of his Royal Highness, James, Duke of York and Albany." They were first promulgated on March 1, 1664, at Hempstead, Long Island, and the criminal code contained therein is usually referred to as the "Hempstead Code."[3] The propinquity of Long Island to the New Haven colony, the intercommunication between the two colonies, and the resemblance between the wording as well as the content of the two codes would incline one to the belief that the Hempstead code was taken more or less directly from the codes of 1642 and 1650 enacted for the New Haven colony.[4] The following portion of the laws embodied the list of capital crimes:

1. If any person within this Government shall by direct, express, impious or presumptious ways, deny the true God and his attributes, he shall be put to death.

2. If any person shall commit any wilful and premeditated murder he shall be put to death.

3. If any person slayeth another with a sword or dagger who hath no weapon to defend himself; he shall be put to death.

4. If any man shall slay, or cause another to be slain by lying in wait privily for him or by poisoning or any other such wicked conspiracy; he shall be put to death. . . .

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[2] *Charter and Laws,* Historical Notes, pp. 455 f.

[3] Ibid.

[4] *New Jersey Prison Inquiry Commission,* 1918, Vol. II, pp. 27–28, 341–2.

7. If any person forcibly stealeth or carrieth away any mankind; he shall be put to death.

8. If any man bear false witness maliciously and on purpose to take away a man's life, he shall be put to death.

9. If any man shall traitorously deny his Majesty's right and titles to his Crowns and Dominions, or shall raise armies to resist his authority, he shall be put to death.

10. If any man shall treacherously conspire or publickly attempt to invade or surprise any town or towns, fort or forts, within this Government, he shall be put to death.

11. If any child or children, above sixteen years of age, and of sufficient understanding, shall smite their natural father or mother, unless thereunto provoked and forced for their self-protection from death or maiming, at the complaint of said father and mother, and not otherwise, there being sufficient witnesses thereof, that child or those children so offending shall be put to death.[5]

Lesser punishments were provided for other crimes and misdemeanors. Fornication was punishable by fine, corporal punishment, or marriage, at the discretion of the court. Forgery was to be punished by the pillory, double damages to the injured persons, and disability for again giving evidence in court. The penalty imposed for arson was death or full satisfaction to the injured party, at the pleasure of the court. Excessive drinking was penalized by fine, the stocks, or both. Lying and spreading false news was to be punished by fine, whipping, and the stocks. As to burglary and robbery, it was provided that the penalty for the first offence was to be branding, for the second branding and whipping, and for the third death. Adultery was punishable by corporal punishment, fine, or imprisonment. Minor punishments were also provided for such petty offences as disturbing church meetings, disobeying parents, and like.[6] There were also included sundry laws regulating the treatment of such civil offences as would be likely to arise in a primitive agricultural society. These were not widely different from those provided in the Levitical code or the Code of Hammurabi.[7] The code abounds in humorous enact-

[5] *Charter and Laws,* pp. 14–15. Paragraphs 5 and 6 cover offences against the moral law, including buggery, bestiality, incest and homosexuality.

[6] *Charter and Laws,* pp. 18, 27–8, 62–3.

[7] Ibid., pp. 15–17.

ments, of which the following section of the law regulating the conduct of the inns of the time is a fair sample. This provided that—

> Every person licensed to keep an Ordinary shall always be provided of strong and wholesome beer, of four bushels of malt, at the least to a hogshead, which he shall not sell at above two pence the quart under the penalty of twenty shillings, for the first offence, forty shillings for the second, and loss of his license. It is permitted to sell beer out of doors at a penny the ale quart or under.
>
> No licensed person shall suffer any to drink excessively or at unreasonable hours after nine of the clock at night in or about any of their houses upon penalty of two shillings six pence for every offence if complaint and proof be made thereof.[8]

Petty offences were dealt with in the town courts constituted by the constable and two or more of the overseers. The more serious offences, with the exception of capital crimes, came under the jurisdiction of the court of quarter sessions. Here trial was by a jury of not more than seven or less than six, and a majority verdict was binding in all cases. The capital crimes were tried by the court of assizes. Here a jury of twelve was usual and the verdict had to be unanimous.[9] Minor punishments were inflicted by the constables of the towns or by other specially appointed persons, but the execution of those convicted of capital offences was a duty of the sheriff.[10]

3. *The Quaker Criminal Codes of 1682 to 1718.*

The provisions of the Duke's laws were superseded by those adopted by Penn's first assembly, which was held at Chester on December 4–7, 1682. Here were adopted the sixty-one chapters of what was known as "The Great Law or Body of Laws" of the province of Pennsylvania.[11] This contained the original Quaker criminal code of Pennsylvania and marked out clearly the wide differences between Quaker practices and theories and those of the Anglicans and Puritans in the other colonies and the mother

[8] *Charter and Laws,* p. 30.
[9] Ibid., pp. 11, 21–2, 33–4, 44, 50, 62.
[10] Ibid., pp. 21, 50, 456.
[11] Ibid., pp. 107 ff. and Historical Notes, pp. 465–82.

country. This code can scarcely be appreciated without a brief examination of the intellectual and sociological background of Quaker jurisprudence.

The ideas and customs of the Quakers furnish the best explanation of the nature and content of their criminal code.[12] Mr. Applegarth, in his interesting study, *The Quakers in Pennsylvania,* has summarized the more important of their customs and ideas which went far to shape their legislation. The Quakers evidenced an almost puritanical asceticism and austerity in their mode of life, though they were not as cruel and vindictive as were the Puritans in punishing deviations from group regulations. All forms of sensuality were particularly repugnant to the Quakers, and they were especially careful to provide a strict legal regulation of sexual morality. Next to sexual laxity, profanity received the greatest amount of condemnation by the Quakers, and their laws repressing "prophane swearing" and cursing are humorously explicit and thorough-going. Gambling was also regarded as a serious offence, and in this category were included many games and amusements now considered quite harmless. Drunkenness was considered a most deplorable vice which they tried to repress with strict regulations, and smoking was regarded as only one degree less serious than drinking. Duelling, with its shedding of blood, was, naturally, forbidden by the Quakers. Again, they were opposed to the theater and public amusements and made their introduction and patronage punishable offences.

The Quakers did not rely merely upon legal regulation to secure a high degree of public morality, but resorted to an almost Calvinistic type of inquisitorial supervision over the morality of private citizens. It is stated upon good authority that one of the more prominent of the early governors of the province was in the habit of going through the inns of Philadelphia each night before he retired in order to disperse by personal application of physical force, if necessary, the hangers-on who might have delayed their home-going after the "unseemly hour of nine o'clock of the night."[13] Finally, it should be noted that the aversion of the

[12] See Isaac Sharpless, *A Quaker Experiment in Government,* pp. 21–46; and *Quakerism and Politics,* pp. 202–20.

[13] Albert C. Applegarth, *The Quakers in Pennsylvania,* pp. 5–49.

Quakers to unusual cruelty, suffering, and the shedding of blood led them to substitute imprisonment for the death penalty, in all crimes except murder, and for the other more barbarous types of corporal punishment.[14]

Though the "Great Law" of 1682 was submitted by the Proprietor to the assembly for its sanction, it was not seriously altered, and it may be regarded as representing Penn's ideal of a criminal code.[15] It opened with the declaration, very unusual for the time, which proclaimed that liberty of conscience and freedom of worship should be guaranteed to all who acknowledged the existence and attributes of the one true God.[16] This eliminated at the outset from the province of Pennsylvania the long category of religious offences which marred the criminal jurisprudence of most of the other colonies at the time, as well as that of all the European countries.

In the main, crimes of violence against the person were punished by imprisonment at hard labor in the "house of correction." For assaulting a parent the child was to be confined in the house of correction during the pleasure of the parent.[17] Assaulting a magistrate was punished by fine and by one month's confinement in the house of correction.[18] If a servant assaulted a master he was to be punished at the discretion of two justices of the peace.[19] In view of the fact that a very large proportion of the population of provincial Pennsylvania was made up of indentured servants, this enactment was of very considerable significance. Assault and battery constituted a breach of the peace and was to be punished "according to the nature and circumstances of the fact."[20] Duelling was penalized by a fine of five pounds or three months' imprisonment.[21] Rioting was accounted an act of violence and was

[14] A. S. Bolles, *Pennsylvania, Province and State,* p. 256.
[15] *Charter and Laws,* pp. 99–104, 477 ff.
[16] Ibid., pp. 107–8.
[17] Ibid., p. 113.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., pp. 113–14.
[21] Ibid., p. 114.

punished accordingly.[22] Neither murder nor manslaughter was included in the crimes and penalties enumerated in the "Great Law," but their punishment was provided for in the supplement to the original code, which was enacted by the assembly in March, 1683. Here it declared that manslaughter should be punished according to the nature and circumstance of the act, and it was decreed with respect to murder that "if any person within this province or territories thereof shall wilfully or premeditately kill another person, or wilfully or premeditately, be the cause of, or accessory to, the death of any person, such person shall, according to the law of God, suffer death."[23] Murder, then, was the only capital crime in the Quaker criminal code of Pennsylvania.

In defining the crimes against property and prescribing the punishments therefor, it was decreed that arson should be punished by rendering double satisfaction to the injured party, imprisonment for one year, and by receiving such corporal punishment as the court should see fit to impose.[24] Breaking, entering, and theft of goods was punishable by fourfold restitution and three months' imprisonment. If the offender was not able to make restitution he was to be imprisoned for seven years.[25] Forcible entry into the possessions of another was regarded as a breach of the peace and was punishable accordingly at the discretion of the court.[26] Lands and goods of "theeves and fellons" were liable to confiscation in order to render satisfaction to injured parties, and, if they possessed no property, such offenders were to be set at work in the workhouse until satisfaction was rendered.[27]

The longest list of crimes and penalties related to offences against public morality. Especially severe were the penalties imposed for the sexual "crimes." The punishment imposed for "defiling the marriage bed" was whipping and one year's im-

[22] *Charter and Laws*, p. 113.
[23] Ibid., p. 144.
[24] Ibid., p. 112.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid., pp. 112–13.
[27] Ibid., p. 112.

prisonment for the first offence and life imprisonment for the second.[28] Incest was punished by forfeiture of half one's estate and one year's imprisonment for the first offence and life imprisonment for the second.[29] Sodomy and bestiality were penalized by forfeiture of one third of the offender's estate and six months' imprisonment for the first offence and life imprisonment for the second.[30] Rape was punishable by forfeiture of one third of the offender's estate and one year's imprisonment for the first offence and life imprisonment for a repetition of the offence.[31] Even the first offence of bigamy was to be punished by life imprisonment.[32] The penalty for fornication was not provided in the code of 1682, but in the additions made in March, 1683, it was provided that fornication should be punished by "enjoining marriage, or fine, or corporal punishment, or all or any of these at the discretion of the county court."[33] The various types of profanity were all penalized by a fine of five shillings or five days' imprisonment at hard labor, on a bread and water diet.[34] The first offence of drunkenness was to be punished by a fine of five shillings or by five days' imprisonment at hard labor on bread and water. All subsequent offences were punishable by a doubling of the penalty for the previous offence.[35] Those inn-keepers or others who allowed drunkenness to go on at their houses were also to receive the same punishment as the drunkard.[36] It was also provided that "if any person shall drink healths, which may provoke people to unnecessary and excessive drinking," he should be punished by a fine of five shillings and the pledger of the health likewise.[37] In spite of these restrictions on excessive drinking, cheap beer was assured by the provision that "all strong beer and ale

[28] *Charter and Laws,* pp. 109–10.
[29] Ibid., p. 110.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid., pp. 110–11.
[33] Ibid., p. 145.
[34] Ibid., pp. 108–9.
[35] Ibid., p. 111.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.

made of barley malt shall be sold for not above two pennies Sterling for a full Winchester quart."[38] It was further decreed that, whereas selling liquor to Indians tended "to make the poor natives worse, and not better for their coming among them, which is a heinous offence to God, and a reproach to the blessed name of Christ, and his holy religion," any one convicted of so doing was to be fined five pounds.[39] No law against smoking was enacted in 1682, but in 1696 it was provided that any one detected smoking in the streets by day or night was to be fined twelve pence, and fines were to be used in buying apparatus for fire protection.[40] The Quaker prejudice against games and theaters appears in the decree that "whosoever shall introduce into this province, or frequent such rude and riotous sports and practices as prizes, stage-plays, masques, revels, bull-baitings, and such like" shall be regarded as peace breakers, to be fined at least twenty shillings or to suffer ten days' imprisonment at hard labor.[41] It was further provided that "If any person be convicted of playing at cards, dice, lotteries, or such like enticing, vain, and evil sports and games, such persons shall pay five shillings or suffer five days' imprisonment in the house of correction."[42] Suitable punishment, consisting of fine or imprisonment, was also provided for lying, sedition, speaking slightingly of magistrates, scandalous reporting and scolding, bribery, and extortion.[43]

The wide reliance upon imprisonment as a mode of punishment is evident throughout the separate enactments of this code, and it was an epoch-making departure in criminal procedure. Excepting only the closely related Quaker colony of West Jersey, this code of 1682 in Pennsylvania unquestionably marks the first instance in the history of criminal jurisprudence in which imprisonment at hard labor was prescribed as a punishment for a majority of the acts which were branded as crimes by the community.[44]

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[38] *Charter and Laws,* pp. 115–16.
[39] Ibid., pp. 111–12.
[40] Ibid., p. 260.
[41] Ibid., p. 114.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid., pp. 114–17.
[44] Cf. *New Jersey Prison Inquiry Commission,* Vol. II, p. 351.

The legal regulations for the adjustment of civil actions and disputes were not extensively included in this first code of 1682, but were embraced in the act of March, 1683.[45]

In addition to the court system, the law of 1682 made the following provisions regarding procedure in criminal cases. The testimony of two witnesses was required to establish proof in any case. Perjury was punished by the penalty which the accused did receive or might have received, satisfaction to the wronged party, exposure as a false witness, and disability from further right to testify in the courts of the province. Trials were to be by jury. In criminal cases the grand jury was composed of twenty-four, of which twelve must declare the accused guilty. Forty-eight jurors were to be impaneled for the trial jury, from which twelve were to be selected for the trial, unless fewer than that number remained after "reasonable challenges had been admitted." In that case a new panel had to be enrolled.[46]

While there were many additions and some changes in details, yet, when looked at from the broad standpoint of sociology and jurisprudence, this Quaker code of 1682 may be said to have persisted as the basis of criminal procedure in the province until 1718.[47] Though Penn was suspended from power between 1692 and 1694, Governor Fletcher, who was appointed to take his place, permitted the re-enactment of an almost identical code in June, 1693.[48] It was again confirmed by the act of November 27, 1700.[49] Though this law was repealed by the Crown, it was re-enacted on January 12, 1706, and remained in force until 1718.[50]

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[45] *Charter and Laws,* pp. 127 ff.

[46] Ibid., pp. 116–17. What was probably the first, and perhaps the only, instance of a jury of women in the American colonies occurred in Delaware county in 1689. The women were evidently called because part of the task of the jury was to determine the question of pregnancy in a young woman accused of erring. George Smith, *A History of Delaware County,* p. 174.

[47] Bolles, op. cit., pp. 257–8.

[48] *Charter and Laws,* pp. 192–220.

[49] *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania,* compiled by Mitchell and Flanders, Vol. II, pp. 3 ff.

[50] Ibid., pp. 171 ff.

The general tendency, however, in these successive acts was to increase the severity of the penalties and to introduce the more barbarous types of corporal punishment, such as branding, which had not appeared in the codes of 1682 and 1683. Terms of imprisonment became longer and, though the death penalty was not inflicted on white inhabitants for any crime except murder until 1718, it was applied to negroes after 1700 if they were found guilty of murder, rape, buggery, or burglary.[51] By thus widening the application of the death penalty to what was regarded by them as an inferior race the provincial authorities accustomed themselves to its extension to their own kind a few years later. After a careful investigation of the changes in the penalties inflicted and in the degree of punishment prescribed in the period between 1682 and 1718, one is less likely than before to accept the popular conception that there was a total break with precedents in criminal jurisprudence in the law of 1718.[52] While the Quaker theories did prevail down to that date in a majority of cases, there can be no doubt that the transition to the English and Puritan system was being prepared for in the two previous decades.

4. *The Reëstablishment of the Anglican and Puritan Codes, 1718.*

The act of May 31, 1718, which brought the English criminal code into operation in Pennsylvania, was the product of the peculiar Quaker aversion to taking an oath and was one phase of the struggle between the Anglicans and Quakers. Down to the beginning of the reign of George I, in 1714, the Quakers had normally enjoyed the right of affirmation, but in 1715 an act was passed by Parliament which forbade affirmation as a qualification in criminal procedure and this act was extended in its application to the colonies. Governor Gookin was determined to carry out the royal decree, the provincial officers rebelled against it, and the administration of justice in Pennsylvania was disrupted.[53] Dr. Bolles thus summarizes the dispute:

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[51] *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania,* Vol. II, pp. 79, 235.

[52] For a somewhat different view see Bolles, op. cit., p. 258.

[53] W. R. Shepherd, *A History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania,* pp. 361–7; W. T. Root, *The Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government, 1696–1765,* pp. 248 ff.

This construction, which was maintained by the governor, and shut out many from their offices, and even from the protection of the law, threw the Province into confusion. The governor refused to administer the affirmation as a qualification for office; the judges refused to sit in criminal cases; the administration of justice was suspended, and two atrocious murderers remained in jail three years without trial. The Assembly was alarmed; but it resolutely asserted the rights of the people, and at length Gookin was recalled.[54]

Governor Keith, who was appointed in 1716, advised the assembly that the best method of inducing the Crown to grant the right of affirmation would be to adopt the English criminal code. This advice was accepted, and David Lloyd, the chief justice of the supreme court, was delegated to draw up a bill which would embody the criminal laws of England. His work was accepted and the bill became law on May 31, 1718.[55] By a strange coincidence Penn died in the same year that his advanced criminal jurisprudence was being uprooted. Prof. Shepherd has made the following pertinent comment on this point:

Indeed, there seems a melancholy significance about the fact that, as the life of William Penn, whose legislation marked by justice tempered with mercy, has been the admiration of the civilized world, was slowly ebbing away, his cherished ideals of humanitarianism were being ruthlessly destroyed and replaced by the gloomy severity of the Middle Ages.[56]

The intent and purpose of the new criminal code was stated in the following words:

Whereas it is a settled point, that the common law is the birthright of English subjects, so it ought to be their rule in British dominions; but acts of Parliament have been adjudged not to extend to these plantations, unless they are particularly named in such acts.

Now forasmuch as some persons have been encouraged to transgress certain statutes against capital crimes, and other enormities, because those statutes have not hitherto been fully extended to this province.

Therefore, lest there should be any further failure in that behalf, may it please the Governor that it be enacted. . . .[57]

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[54] Bolles, op. cit., p. 257.

[55] Shepherd, pp. 388–9; Bolles, pp. 255–7; Root, op. cit., pp. 248–53; *Charter and Laws,* pp. 371–82; *Statutes at Large,* Vol. III, pp. 199–221.

[56] Shepherd, op. cit., p. 389.

[57] *Charter and Laws,* p. 371.

Though the right of affirmation was guaranteed, this concession was much more than offset by the complete adoption of the barbarous severity of the criminal code of England and of the Puritans in other American colonies. The new code was even more rigorous than that contained in the Duke of York's laws promulgated in 1676. In the Duke's laws twelve offences had been designated as capital, while in the code of 1718 no less than thirteen crimes were declared to be capital. The list included the various degrees of treason, murder, manslaughter by stabbing, serious maiming, highway robbery, burglary, arson, sodomy, buggery, rape, concealing the death of a bastard child, advising the killing of such a child, and witchcraft. Larceny was the only felony which was not made a capital crime. This was made punishable by restitution, fine, whipping, and imprisonment.[58] Counterfeiting of paper money and gold and silver coin was made a capital crime by the laws of September 21, 1756, and February 21, 1767,[59] and, with this addition, the sanguinary criminal code remained in existence until after the close of the provincial period, when a reforming era was initiated by the act of September 15, 1786.[60] The practice of whipping, branding, and mutilation for the punishment of lesser crimes, which was already growing up by 1718, was continued with general uniformity throughout the period.

In addition to the greater severity of the punishment, which became the rule after 1718, it should be noted that the penalties imposed were such that there was little need for penal institutions adapted to the substitution of imprisonment for corporal punishment. There is, accordingly, no difficulty in understanding why the "common gaol" rather than the workhouse became the typical penal institution of provincial Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century.[61] Mr. J. F. Watson, in his interesting compilation of provincial customs, originally published in 1830, offers the follow-

[58] *Charter and Laws,* pp. 372–82.

[59] *Statutes at Large,* Vol. V, pp. 247–8. Vol. VII, p. 91.

[60] Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 280–90.

[61] Futhey and Cope assert that after 1718 in Chester County, which may be taken as typical of the eastern part of the state, whipping was the conventional punishment for all crimes other than capital. *History of Chester County,* p. 406.

ing observations upon the barbarous modes of punishment which prevailed down to the Revolutionary period:

> These barbarous measures of punishment were not in accordance with the spirit and feelings of our forefathers, who early aimed at commuting work and confinement for crime; but the parent country, familiar with its sanguinary code, always revoked the laws formed upon our schemes of reformation. These punishments, therefore, generally prevailed till the time of our self-government, when measures were speedily taken, first by societies of citizens, and afterwards by the Legislature to introduce those reforms into prison discipline which have made our city and state to be celebrated for its early "Penitentiary System." [62]

(*To be concluded.*)

SOME OLD FAMILIES OF WRIGHTSTOWN TOWNSHIP, PENNSYLVANIA.*

Wrightstown is one of the smaller of the Bucks County townships, the second crop, as it were, in the way of settlement, and like all the lower Bucks County townships, it was settled almost exclusively by Friends. This meeting house is one of six extending across the county almost in a straight line like a row of frontier forts. We begin at Bristol, then Middletown Meeting, at Langhorne, next Newtown, on to Wrightstown, to Buckingham, and on up to Plumstead. It is true there are a few meetings lying to the north of this line—Makefield, Solebury, and far-away Stroudsburg—but this row of meeting houses represents the successive flows of the tide of immigration as it rolled back from the Delaware River to the higher lands along the headwaters of the Neshaminy and other streams.

In their layout, Wrightstown and Newtown, its sister township adjoining, are unique among the townships planned by Penn. In the geographical center of Wrightstown was a square mile which Penn had reserved for himself as a preserve or park, and although its boundaries have long since disappeared and its area was ab-

[62] J. F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia,* revised and enlarged by W. P. Hazard, 1898, Vol. I, pp. 361–2. Cf. Bolles, op. cit., pp. 258–9.

* Paper by Charles F. Jenkins, read at a meeting of the Friends' Historical Society held at Wrightstown, Pa., Fifth month 21st, 1921.

sorbed by the surrounding property owners, the village and post-office are still known as "Penn's Park."

Wrightstown was originally covered with "a fine growth of heavy timber with but little underbrush," says W. H. H. Davis, and this greatly reduced the labor of clearing it for cultivation.

The township is said to have been named for one Thomas Wright, an early West Jersey settler. Of him and the township's name, Phineas Pemberton, writing to William Penn in 1687, says:

> The land I have in Wrightstown is 1200 acres and only one settlement upon it. I lately offered to have given a man 100 acres if he would have seated there and he has since bought at a very great price rather than go so far into the woods. There is about 500 acres yet to take up in the towne. The people hereabout are much disappointed with said Wright and his cheating tricks he played here. They think much to call it after such a runagadoes name. He has not been in these parts for several years, therefore, I desire thee to give it a name. I have sometimes called it Centretown because it lies near the centre of the county, as it may be supposed and the town is laid out with a centre in the middle of 600 acres or thereabouts.

The first pioneer to settle in what was then the back "wilderness" of Bucks County was John Chapman from Yorkshire, England. He came with his wife and three children, reaching Bucks County late in 1684. For a time the family lived in a cave, where a few months after the family's arrival twin sons were born to his wife, Jane. His second daughter, Ann, was a child of eight years when they reached Wrightstown. She must have been a serious-minded girl, for early in life, when she was but twenty-three, she became a preacher among Friends.

In 1709 she informed Middletown Monthly Meeting, of which she was then a member, of a concern to visit "Friends in some parts of Old England" and, her Meeting approving, she set out on the journey. She landed first in England and traveled extensively throughout Great Britain, and in 1711 visited Ireland. In 12th month of that year she sailed for home from Bristol in company with Elizabeth Webb, another ministering Friend. On the 29th they stopped over in Cork harbor, spent Saturday and Sunday there among Friends, a number of whom accompanied them

to the ship the following morning, when they sailed for Pennsylvania.

With Ann Chapman were two children, Mary and Thomas Lancaster, who had been bound over to her as apprentices, as was the custom of the time. The tradition is that their mother, Elizabeth Lancaster, was a widow and poor. They lived in or near Warwick, England. Ann Chapman returned the certificate of unity with her mission which had been granted her by the meeting "being returned from Old England" 5th of 4th Month, 1712, so that she had been somewhat more than two years away from home on this extended journey.

The two Lancaster children were brought up by Ann Chapman in the home in Wrightstown. Her parents were long since dead, her older brother and sister were married, and the twins born in the cave were grown men. It is an interesting coincidence that Joseph and Abraham Chapman, following out the close relationship of twins, applied on the same day for certificates from their meeting in order to proceed in marriage. One was married 9th Mo. 16th, 1715, and the other the following day. And on the same day in 1724 they were both appointed to the position of Elders in their Meeting.

Five years after her return from England, in 1717, Ann Chapman married John Parsons, a neighboring settler in Wrightstown, but the Lancaster children continued members of her household.

Mary Lancaster was married to Jeffrey Burgess, an early settler in Upper Makefield township, in 1723. They were the parents of a considerable family.

In the following year, 1724, Ann Parsons appeared with Thomas Lancaster in Middletown Monthly Meeting and "desired that Friends would take notice of him as a Friend's child and (if Friends of this meeting be willing) that the meeting will send a ffew lines to ffriends in England to give them to understand how he and his sister Mary, stands in Unity with ffriends and what else may seem needful now they being out of their apprenticeship."

A committee was appointed the following month to "look into said Lancasters' conversation" and at the next meeting they made the following satisfactory report: "they find nothing but what is

well on his and his sister's behalf," and in one month more (7th Mo. 3d, 1724) the following minute closed the incident:

> Unto this meeting the Clarke brought a letter of information concerning Thomas Lancaster and his sister Mary, which Ann Parsons requested of this meeting to be sent to Great Britain which was read, approved, signed and ordered to be sent by the first opportunity.

On the 19th of 8th Month, 1725, Thomas Lancaster married Phebe Wardell in Wrightstown Meeting House, it being the first recorded marriage in the records of that Monthly Meeting.

Thomas and Phebe Lancaster prospered and bought a farm just over the borders of Wrightstown, a tract which, by the way, had belonged to John and Elizabeth Estaugh. Later they added to it and finally sold the whole and removed to Richland Township. In 1750 Thomas Lancaster engaged in a religious visit to Barbadoes and Tortola in the West Indies. He died and was buried at sea on his homeward voyage. It is somewhat of a coincidence that John Estaugh's remains lie in the Island of Tortola, he having also died while making a religious visit to that island. Thomas Lancaster's companions on this visit were John Bringhurst and Peter Fearon. John Oxley, a minister from Barbadoes, had died in John Bringhurst's home in Philadelphia. On this ill-fated visit to the West Indies, John Bringhurst, who was in poor health, died at the widow Oxley's home in Barbadoes.

William Smith is said to have been the second settler in the township. His tract immediately adjoined John Chapman's, from whom he had purchased it. He married Mary Croasdale, a passenger in the Welcome, and their second daughter married John Atkinson. These Atkinson descendants are scattered all over Bucks County. John Atkinson, when a little boy, had arrived on the "Britannia" in 1699. For many years this was known as the "sick" ship and the passengers were in such a sad state when they reached Philadelphia that Friends had to organize relief for their case. John Atkinson lost his father, mother, and uncle on the voyage. The most vivid account of the trip still preserved was by a young man named Haworth in a letter written to his mother. The second letter of the series by him is written from Bucks County. It gives a picture of life in Bucks County but a few

years later than the time William Smith was hewing a home out of the wilderness:

YE 14 OF YE 3RD MO., CALLED MAY, 1701.

Dear Mother—after my dear love to thee and to my Brother and Sisters and to all my relations and well wishers, these comes to let you understand that I am well at present, hoping these few lines may find you all in good health also, and I have had my health reasonably ever since I came into the country; but at first being a little weakly at the first; I was then with James Haworth, and then I hired myself for a year and had about 19£ wages in the year and since I was free I work by the piece or by the day, and hath 2/6 a day and victuals, and in harvest 3/6 a day and if we take our work we commonly get more, So if any of my relations have a mind to come to this country, I think it is a very good country and that they may do well, but be sure to come free, but if you come servants, they must be sold for 4 or 5 years and work hard, so be sure to come free and bring such things as will suit plantation work, as Horse chains plowgears and all things suitable to work withal as plow irons and things for selling; bring stores of good cloth and good sarge and bedding of all sorts with good store of silk to sew withal and good bed ticking and good stockings and shoes and good Ivory combs and knives very good ones, and good Alchymy buttons and good light Hats and Iron pots. And as for the land there is both good and bad, both Hills and also Vales and the common product of the land is Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats, Beans, Pease and Buckwheat and Indian corn and Apples plenty often and Cyder and Peaches and Cherries: Cattle and Horses there is plenty and store of hogs and there is sheep and victuals is good and plenty all over the Country as far as I know: there is fishes and fowl is pretty plenty, and this last Winter there was a great Snow and some got store of Deer 8 or 10 in a weeks time; and what varmant we have, as Wolves I have seen some but they have not hurt me tho' I have been near them, there is a few panthers and Bears, but they hurt nobody as I know of, and land is dearer than it was when we first came. There is several sorts of grapes and strawberries plenty and mullberries and whimberries, but they grow upon stalks 3 foot high, there is many sorts of wood, as Black Oaks, White Oaks, Red Oaks, and other sorts and many other sorts of other Trees as Chestnuts, Walnuts, and many sorts of things. We have Turkeys wild in the Woods, Pheasants and Partridges, with many other sorts of birds of divers colours and strange colours and notes; and thus much for the Country and its product. This is to let you understand, that I went ashore at a place called Horbills (Whorkill) and there found my Sister and she hath 4 children, 2 Sons and 2 daughters, John, James, and Mary and Sarah, and there I staid about a week, and then my Brother came along with me to Philadelphia

and since then I have not seen them but hath received letters from them so they are in good health when I heard last from them; and then I came into the County of Bucks where my cousin James Haworth dwells and dwelleth near to him being about 250 miles from my Sister. James Haworth and his wife is well and hath one daughter, I have sent one letter and something in another and heard nothing from you, but I desire you in all love to hear from you as soon as possible you can, for I could be glad to hear from you especially of your wellfare and if any of you come I desire you to send me word hard. Direct your letters for me to be left at Phineas Pembertons in the county of Bucks and so I remain your loving brother

GEORGE HAWORTH.

William Smith was married twice and was the father of fifteen children. The eleventh was Ralph, who married Mercy Penquite, the next neighbor to the south. In 1765 Ralph's family, including his sons, William, Aaron, and Zopher, removed to South Carolina, where William became a famous Indian fighter, a major in the Revolutionary War, a member of Congress, and for twenty years a State Senator.

I have mentioned three warlike descendants of William Smith, and will allude to another famous fighting member of Wrightstown Meeting—General John Lacey. A few years before the Revolution broke out he had accompanied his uncle, Zebulon Heston, a minister among Friends, on a religious visit to the Delaware Indians. He joined the Continental forces, was disowned from Meeting, passed quickly through the various grades, and was commissioned a Brigadier General in 1778, the youngest officer of that rank in the service. He was in command at the skirmish of the Crooked Billet. After the war he removed to New Jersey. His daughter later married Dr. William Darlington, the famous botanist of Chester County.

The third settler in the township is said to have been John Penquite, a surname which has entirely disappeared in the county.

Late in 1683, some accounts say in September of that year, two Cornishmen, Walter Bridgman and Thomas Constable, and the latter's sister, Blanche, reached Pennsylvania. As was the "good order" among Friends, they brought with them certificates of membership, numerously signed by their friends and neighbors.

The Constable certificate included also a servant, John Penquite, This ancient document, with its disclosure of the suffering that Friends in England were undergoing as prisoners in Launceston jail, even at such a late date, is as follows:

To friends of ye monthly and Quarterly meetings in pensilvania or elsewhere in America. Whereas Thomas Constable of ye Pish of Layne in ye County of Cornwall did ppose unto our Quarterly Meeting his intention of transporting himselfe and his Sister Blanch Constable and John Penquite, his servant into pensilvania or some other of ye plantations of friends in America, where upon wee did send unto ye monthly meeting unto wch they did belong to inquire whether they were free and clear from any engagement or contract relating to marriage with any and whether they had ye consent of their parents and relations unto their voyage as aforesaid, and how they had lived and walked in truth since they made a profession thereof, and having received a returne from ye aforesd monthly meeting (and other friends) yt they have deported and demeaned themselves among us as became ye truth they have professed, and have lived and walked in good order, and yt they are every way cleare from any intanglements and contracts as to marriages as aforesaid and have ye free and full consent of their parents and other relations, and friends in these parts to their transportation as aforesd, wch for theire owne and friends satisfaction in America Amongst whom they may come to inhabitt: we who are part of ye Quarterly Meeting of ye aforesaid county and now prisoners for ye testimony of a good conscience in Lancestin goale have unto this certificate sett our names this 2d day of ye 7th month, 1683.

Friends at Liberty:	Prisoners:	
George Cothy	Tho: Lowar	Petter Godfrey
John Symons	Tho: Salthouse	John Cothy
John Grose	Nicho: Jose	Jacob: Cothy
John Geiye	John Peeters	Christop: Sooper
Tho: Debill	John Elliott	John: Treffry
Elin: Whiteford	Catherin Climens	Petter Roggers
	Elijah Climens	Mary Climens

On Holme's great map of the early settlement of Pennsylvania there are shown two adjoining tracts at the extreme northwest of Middletown township, marked Walter Bridgman and Thomas Constable. The two Cornishmen had bought of William Penn on their arrival in Pennsylvania seven hundred acres along the

Neshaminy and these had been laid out by Surveyor David Powell.[1]

The land was not paid for till some years later, when Bridgman was dead and Constable returned to England, payment being a matter of controversy between Nicholas Waln, who represented the interests of these two settlers, and the Pennsylvania commissioners.

When the land was laid out Constable's was nearest the Newtown township line and it included the present site of "Sharon" and the George School, and as late as 1703 it is described as "five hundred acres of woodland."[2]

Just where the Constables made their home is uncertain, but the brother, Thomas, soon returned to Cornwall, England, where he married and had a numerous family. In 1703, in selling his Pennsylvania plantation, he is described as of "the parish of Liskeard in the county of Cornwall, gent." His sister, Blanche, remained in Bucks County, and in 1686, at the home of Stephen Sands, married Walter Bridgman.[3] John Penquite became part of their family. The next year a daughter, Mary, was born, and within a month the mother died, and within a year the father, Walter Bridgman, also passed away.[4] He left his estate to his infant daughter, Mary, and in case of her decease to his brother-in-law, Thomas Constable. One of his guns he gave to John Penquite. He also left five pounds to the "Friends of Neshaminah."

To John Penquite and probably Hannah Malley, also a beneficiary under Walter Bridgman's will, fell the care of the orphan Mary in the bereaved Bridgman home. Nicholas Waln, that important Bucks County man of business, had been made executor

[1] Minute Book G. Commissioners of Property, Vol. XIX, Penna. Archives, Second Series.

[2] For an interesting account of an Indian garden on this tract and a fanciful Indian legend connected with it, see Belle Van Sant's paper in Vol. III, *Memoirs of Bucks County Historical Society.*

[3] Records Middletown Monthly Meeting.

[4] Mary Bridgman born 12th Mo. 18, 1687. Blanche Bridgman died 1st Mo. 8th, 1688. Walter Bridgman died 10th Mo. 16th, 1688. Middletown Mo. Mtg. Records.

of the will and three other well-known neighbors had been appointed trustees of the property. Two years later John Penquite married and he and his wife apparently assumed the management of the Bridgman place and the care of the little girl.

It was in Twelfth Month, 1689, that he informed his Monthly Meeting of his intentions to marry Agnes Sharp of "Shrewsburie in East Jersey," and the next month, when the matter was to be approved, some of his friends had to speak for him, he being detained "by a teadeous journey." Possibly this was a visit to Shrewsbury. John Penquite and Agnes Sharp were married at the Meeting House at Shrewsbury, 4th mo. 4th, 1690. Of her parents or place of birth we have no knowledge. She had brought a certificate of membership from England to Shrewsbury (N. J.) Meeting dated the 6th day of the Second Month, 1686.

John Penquite and his wife continued to live on the Bridgman place until 1695, when they announced their intention of removing to Wrightstown. The question then arose what should be done with Mary Bridgman. Should she continue in her own home or go with the Penquites to the new settlement in the back woods? The matter, being a weighty one, was referred to the Meeting and it, in its official capacity, advised that she continue to live with the Penquites "till further advice may be given."[5]

In the meantime John Penquite had prospered and saved his money, and by 1688 he had been able to purchase two hundred acres of land along the Neshaminy Creek for twenty-five pounds.[6] This was part of the Walter Pickering tract, shown on Holme's map in Northampton township.

Their new home in Wrightstown, however, was on a tract of land extending from the south corner of the square mile in the center of the township which Penn had laid out for his own use and called Penn's Park to the south corner of the township itself. Here the land lay along the Neshaminy across the creek from the tract bought some years before from Walter Pickering. On this Wrightstown tract[7] John Penquite built a house and barn and

[5] Records Middletown Mo. Meeting, "7th ye 1st Mo. 1794/5."

[6] Bucks Co. Deed Book No. 1, p. 156.

[7] This second purchase was made from Phineas Pemberton for twenty

outbuildings and this continued the home of the family for many years.

Wrightstown in 1695 was but little more than a wilderness. The Indians were numerous and friendly. The western line of the original purchase of land, made from the Indians by Governor Markham on behalf of Penn, in the summer before Penn's arrival in 1682, which extended from the corner white oak over toward Jericho mountain, marked with the letter "P" to the "high rocks" along the Neshaminy, ran through the Penquite tract, and it is related that "the Indians made a line of marked trees through the farm to the Neshaminy, ordering him to till the ground on Penn's side and not meddle with theirs."[8] Were this the case, about one half the tract would be available for cultivation. The rolling, well-wooded land lay nicely to the south, drained by two small streams, the larger of which, rising near the present village of Wrightstown, and called the Playwickey,[9] from the Indian town of that name supposed to be near by, flowed through a pretty ravine to the Neshaminy. On the bank of this and perhaps a quarter of a mile from the Neshaminy is an ancient dwelling which from its location would seem to have been the site of the original Penquite house.[10] Near by is a larger, regular Bucks County farm house, with the date stone "G. C. 1832," built by George Chapman. A small barn near the old house shows its great age and must date back to near the time of the coming of the Penquites to Wrightstown.

John and Agnes Penquite, when they made their new home on the banks of the Neshaminy, were the parents of two small children, their oldest son, John, a boy of four, and the next a daughter, Esther, but a year old. The lack of comfort and conveniences, the toil and effort of the backwoods family, are well shown in

pounds, "current silver money of Pennsylvania." Bucks County Deed Book No. 3, p. 81.

[8] See the Twining Family, 1905.

[9] This name was given the stream fifty years ago by Elizabeth T. Atkinson, whose home was near its banks.

[10] In 1921, this portion of the farm was in the possession of Rev. S. B. Booth.

the meager effects, other than those of a husbandman, which John Penquite left his family on his death some twenty-five years later.

In order to attend Meeting during the summer, Friends from Wrightstown rode to Middletown, now Langhorne, but in the winter meetings were held at the homes of members, probably those with dwellings of sufficient size to accommodate the gatherings. As early as 1686 a meeting had been authorized at the home of John Chapman, the original settler. The following minute shows how the matter was arranged from year to year:

> The Friends of Newtown and Wrightstown request their meeting for this winter as usual, which is granted, and is ordered to begin at Stephen Twining's (in Newtown) and the next to John Penquite's, then to Abraham Chapman's and the next to Thomas Hillborn's and to keep that course.[11]

This general arrangement continued until 1722, when the Chapmans gave land for a Meeting House and graveyard and the first Wrightstown Meeting House was built.

In 1715 John, the oldest son of John and Agnes Penquite, was engaged to marry Grace Stackhouse, the daughter of Thomas Stackhouse, a prominent nearby settler. The usual committee was appointed by the Monthly Meeting to examine into their clearness from similar marriage engagements. There was some obstruction to the marriage, Grace not being considered entirely free from other marriage engagements, and in a few months the matter was dropped. John Penquite made a written statement 10th mo. 18, 1716, that she was clear of any engagement to marry him, but two years later when she proposed to marry David Wilson the matter again claimed the attention of the Meeting when he declared that "he gave her liberty to marry with whom she pleased if she had freedom in herself, notwithstanding what had passed between them since the date of the aforesaid paper."[12] Grace Stackhouse and David Wilson were married.

In 1719 John Penquite, Jr., became involved in an escapade which brought sorrow to his family and friends. It was reported that with two brothers of his former sweetheart they "hath taken

[11] Records Middletown Monthly Meeting, 9th Mo. 6th, 1718.
[12] Records Middletown Monthly Meeting, Women's branch.

liberty to act some unseemly actions in the night season upon the road in pulling down fences and gats and such like." Every indication points to this being an attack on the peace of David Wilson and his wife. For this offence, unrepented and uncondoned, one of the Stackhouses was disowned from the Meeting, the other brother could not be found, and John Penquite, after considerable "labor" on the part of committees appointed to visit him, acknowledged his error. He later became a valued and respected citizen, filling positions of trust in his community.

Whether this unhappy incident had aught to do in hastening the death of the father, John Penquite, is not known, but he died very shortly after the event, and while it was still under the care of the Meeting. It may have been that the death of the father hastened the acknowledgment of error on the part of the son. John Penquite was buried 9th mo. 12th, 1719, presumably in the old graveyard near Penn's Park, which has now disappeared.

Agnes Penquite, the widow of John, lived to a great age, passing away in her hundredth year. Ann Moore, a friend, writes in her diary:

> On the 18th of 4th Month, 1758, I went with several friends to visit Agnes Penquite, an ancient worthy woman, nearly, if not quite, a hundred years old. During our conversation with her, notwithstanding she was childish, she said some sensible things to us, recommending us to mind the living God in all our undertakings for he is good. Then she expressed a desire to be released from this world, saying "I am a great deal of trouble to my friends, and I fear I shall live a great while longer. Do pray God to take me." After this, we sat still, visiting on the Lord, and were blessed with a sweet season.[13]

She was released from the cares of this world 11th mo. 20th, 1758, and Wrightstown Monthly Meeting issued this memorial of her long and useful life:

> She was of an innocent pious life and conversation, a good example in attending meetings both on first and week-days, until a few years before her death. She was a minister above seventy years; her testimony, tho' generally short, was mostly to satisfaction and edification; and in her declining age, when nature seemed almost spent, she appeared more divinely favoured than common, to the admiration of some. When she

[13] Journal of Ann Moore, in *Friends' Miscellaney*, 4: 338.

could no longer attend meetings, she would often, at meal times, appear in prayer, with praises to the Lord, to the comfort and satisfaction of those present; and frequently signified "She had the evidence of divine peace." Not long before her departure she said, "That her sweet Lord had not forsaken her, but was still with her to comfort and refresh her in her old age." Thus she was removed from time to eternity, like a shock of corn fully ripe.[14]

ANNUAL SPRING PILGRIMAGE

of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia at Wrightstown, Pa., Fifth month 21st, 1921.

By Lucy B. Roberts,

President of the Society.

A pleasant day, a perfect road, historic places greeting us on the way, were a prelude to a delightful afternoon in May when a large number gathered at old Wrightstown Meeting House, Bucks County, to get a glimpse into the past and enjoy the inspiration which such an occasion brings.

It was a notable gathering, for not only were the speakers historical scholars, but many in the audience were also specialists in that line. The interesting Indian Walking Purchase Stone on the grounds was inspected by many, and then all gathered in the old house, built in 1787, which had been kindly prepared by members of the meeting.

Charles F. Jenkins gave a most graphic account of the first families of Wrightstown Meeting, until we felt quite well acquainted with them. Thomas Willing Balch sketched the coming of Governor Printz and the early Swedish settlers to the Delaware, and Rayner W. Kelsey took his hearers over Indian trails in that country with incident and anecdote.

After the exercises the old benches were carried out under the trees and a social hour was enjoyed. It was a time of inspiration and fellowship.

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[14] *Collection of Memorials,* Philadelphia, 1787, p. 198. A biographical sketch of Agnes Penquite based on the above memorial appears in *The Friend,* 32 (1859): 397.

A RELIC OF THE SUSQUEHANNA INDIANS.

By Albert Cook Myers.

At the annual meeting of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, held 11 mo. 28, 1921, I showed and described a relic which seems to me an interestingly significant memento of our earliest Pennsylvania history. It came into my possession last summer as a by-product of the quest I am making for the town sites of William Penn's Indians.

(*See frontispiece illustration.*)

This is a bronze figure, 3¼ inches long, of a gentleman huntsman in plumed hat, with a gun resting in front of him and a dog squatting at his back. It is without doubt of Dutch origin. The pointed beard and costume suggest the time of the artist VanDyke, or at any rate the period 1640–1650. The little image is the handle of a knife, which may have been one of the valued possessions buried, as was the custom, in the grave of its Indian owner. It was found on a farm on the west bank of the Susquehanna River, in Lower Windsor Township, York County, Pennsylvania, about four miles south of Wrightsville. A farmer boy,* from whom I obtained it, plowed it up in a field where many Indian artifacts have been picked up, indicating the site of one of the several towns of the Susquehanna or Minquas Indians of Iroquoian stock.

The spot is but several hundred yards back of the River and of the place where in the 1730's was located the Marylanders' Thomas Cresap Fort, well-known in the prolonged dispute between the Penns and the Lords Baltimore over the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland.

Although its long interment has coated the figure with a delicate patina or greenish rust, yet it is in fine condition and is regarded by connoisseurs as a handsome bit of Flemish art work. The blade of the knife has quite disappeared. Of baser metal, it probably decayed away in the soil. A duplicate handle was dug up in a similar Indian town site or fort about two miles across Susquehanna River on the east bank, near Washington Borough, Lancaster County. Not far away from the latter place was turned up a soldier's iron helmet of about the same period as the image, likewise in association with Indian remains. In answer to my questionnaire, with photograph of the figure, sent to European museums, yet another duplicate handle, together with a complete example of the knife, including both handle and blade, have been located in the Rijks Museum in Amsterdam, Holland. The blade bears the name of the Dutch maker Osseman.

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* Harry E. Leibhart. To John Frederick Lewis and his cousin, Miss Caroline Lewis, of Philadelphia, and to David H. Landis, of Windom, Lancaster County, I am indebted for the opportunity of obtaining the little figure and to Charles Francis Jenkins for the half-tone plate of it.

The beaver may be said to be the *raison d'être* of the first settlements on the Delaware. The Dutch and Swedes, the earliest settlers there, came over for the valuable peltries of this little animal. The best beavers were from the region of the Allegheny River and its affluents in Western Pennsylvania and were brought down to the Delaware by the Minquas Indians. The Great Trading Path of these Indians, over which annually thousands of beaver skins were carried, led from the Susquehanna by way of the east fork of Brandywine Creek, Westtown School, Rose Valley (Moylan), Swarthmore, and Darby to Kinsessing Creek on Schuylkill River. This little figure, then, formed a part of an Indian trader article from Holland, which, it is believed, was exchanged for skins and borne over the Great Trail of those early days to the region of the Susquehanna where it was unearthed.

The Susquehanna Indians were the deep-voiced "Gyant like people," yet "honest and simple," withal, as seen by the redoubtable Captain John Smith of Virginia, in 1608. At several intervals they were visited by English Quaker ministers. As early as 6 mo. (August), 1658, *via* Maryland, came three of these missionaries, Josiah Coale, aged 25, Thomas Thurston, aged about 36, and Thomas Chapman (of Virginia). "wee Cam," wrote Coale, "amongst the Susquehane's Indians, who Courtiously Receved us and Entertayned us in theyr Hutts, with much Respect, and from that place, after two or three dayes being ther with Diet free Severall of them accompanied us about 200 miles farther through y^e^ wildernes or woods," on the way to the Dutch in New Amsterdam.

Thus kind were the Susquehanna Indians to these earliest Quaker itinerants to the Pennsylvania region; although George Bishop, in his *New England Judged* (London, 1661, page 24) describes them as "the most Warlike of those Indians; who also are reported to drink the blood and eat the flesh of their Enemies." Especially "tender" on this wilderness journey were they to the ailing Thurston. Indeed, "one of the Susquehanos . . . conducted" the missionaries all the way "to the Dutch Plantation after Ten Weeks time from their first setting out . . . and some of the Susquehanos came to visit" Thurston "when they heard he was in Prison afterwards in Virginia."

Josiah Coale made a second visit to the Susquehanna Indians in 1660 and inquired of them, at the instance of George Fox, as to the purchase by Friends of a piece of land there. The Indians answered, however, so Coale informs Fox, "that there is no land that is habitable or fit for situation beyond Baltimor's liberty, till they come to or near the Susquehanna's fort." It would appear, then, that on the beautiful banks of the Susquehanna, within the present limits of Pennsylvania, the first Quaker settlement in the New World was planned to be. Even though the plan did not materialize at that early date it was prophetic of the

great consummation under William Penn a little more than two decades later.

In 1701 William Penn himself was the guest of the Indians of the Susquehanna right "Nobly at y^e^ Kings Palace" at Conestoga, as was also his son William Penn, Jr., in 1704. Thomas Chalkley, the minister, was there in 1706, and James Logan made several visits.

"KENTMERE LODGE,"
MOYLAN, PENNSYLVANIA,
18: xii: 1921.

LUCRETIA MOTT LETTER.

The letter which follows has been presented to the Friends' Historical Society by Mrs. G. W. Cutter, of Philadelphia, in whose family it has long remained. The note paper on which the letter is written is headed with the seal of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, with the figure of a kneeling slave in chains, and the motto beneath, "Am I not a man and a Brother?" This seal was adopted upon the formation of the Society in 1787, owing to the efforts of Thomas Clarkson and his band of famous associates. His "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade" should be familiar to Friends, and the later efforts of John G. Whittier and William Lloyd Garrison, with whom Lucretia Mott worked indefatigably.

She and her husband had recently returned from England, where they had been among the American delegates to the great "General Conference" of the Society in London, and where Lucretia Mott was not permitted to attend in her official capacity, because of the resolution that no women were to be seated as delegates. The Conference met in June, 1840. After a most interesting visit, when they met many of those dedicated men and women of all denominations who were active in the anti-slavery movement, James and Lucretia sailed from Liverpool August 27, arriving at New York after a passage of twenty-nine days! This letter was written about three months afterward.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

Respected Friend,

A. S. LIPPINCOTT:

I hope before this that thou hast received an acknowledgment from Jas. S. Gibbons of thy generous contribution in aid of the National

Standard. I have waited to hear from him before I thanked thee for the sum given and the note accompanying it, which I sent to New York. A letter from James to C. C. Burleigh makes mention of it in grateful terms.

I entirely accord with thy remarks on the importance of the paper, as well as other Abolition periodicals, not being turned aside from their direct object, to assail one another. There has been too much of it, and it has doubtless checked the onward course of the Anti-Slavery movement. But the attentive reader will discover that much in the "Old Organization" papers has been on the defensive side—if that will excuse it.

A sectarian spirit found its way into our ranks and made similar ravages to those made in our religious Society some ten or twelve years ago, when many thought it necessary to defend our simple faith by replies to orthodox accusations. I never, however, felt much interest in those controversies; neither now do I read with any satisfaction the criminations and recriminations which sometimes mar our pages.

I hope therefore thy word of exhortation will be suffered among them, and that thou wilt retain an interest and guardian care over the advocates of the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

With thanks, on behalf of the Society, for thy gift,

I am thine for Truth and Liberty,

PHILAD^{A}. 12mo. 8, 1840. LUCRETIA MOTT.

[To A. S. Lippincott, Esq.
369 Arch St.]

INDEXING THE ARCH STREET RECORDS.

BY MAX I. REICH.

The work of indexing and cataloging the contents of the old vault attached to the Arch Street Meeting House is still in progress. There has been hidden away in the vault an accumulation of manuscripts and rare publications of literary value. The undersigned, who has been engaged for some time in examining and classifying this valuable literary hoard, has discovered documents bearing on the early history of the settlement of Friends in Philadelphia; on the relations of Friends with the Indians from the earliest times; on the rise and growth of the concern which crystallized in the Tunesassa enterprise; on the suffering testimony borne by Philadelphia Friends at the time the governmental control of the colony passed out of Friendly hands; of their steady protest against the Militia law, and against taxation for military purposes; not to speak of their patient and unpopular labors on behalf of the enslaved Africans in America.

More than thirty boxes of these manuscripts have been gone through in this manner, leaving some thirty more, bringing the work down to the year of the unhappy separation of well nigh one hundred years ago. Many important manuscripts, throwing light both on the doctrinal controversy and its unfortunate by-products, have been cataloged and made available for the student of that disturbed period of Friendly history.

Then there is the Meeting for Sufferings Library. More than 1030 separate pamphlets and books have already been put into shape. These deal with such subjects as Indians, Negroes, War, Keithian controversy, Revolutionary War, Friends' Sufferings, Hicksite Separation, Beaconite Secession, Wilbur Separation, Ministry, Worship, Discipline, Exhortations, Epistles, Law, Tithes, Education, Doctrinal Matters, Sermons, Memorials, Controversial Subjects, Baptism, Lord's Supper, Jews, etc.,—a perfect treasure trove for historical research.

There remain yet several thousand pamphlets and books to be indexed, the contents of the bound volumes of important publications, patiently collected by departed Friends, such as the elder Joseph Elkinton, Joseph Kite, George Scattergood, and others, and bequeathed to the Meeting for Sufferings. Many of these publications bear the signatures of honored names, their former owners, such as those of Pemberton, Benezet, Dillwyn, Fothergill, Emlen, Evans, and many other ancient worthies of fragrant memory.

We are grateful to those Friends who had the concern of providing a modern receptacle for these priceless treasures, in the large Fire-proof Room attached to Friends' Book Store at 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

THE WALKING PURCHASE.

By Charles F. Jenkins.

On Seventh month 22, 1921, Albert Cook Myers and Charles F. Jenkins started from the monument erected at Wrightstown meeting-house to mark the beginning of the Indian Walk. They followed as closely as possible the route taken by the walkers and made a record of the distances as follows:

Pineville	2.2 miles
Centreville	5.8
Pipersville	13.9
Tohickon Creek	14.5
Ottsville	17.2
Bursonville	23.3
Springtown	25.7
Hellertown	31.1

Lehigh River crossed	35.4
Catasauqua Creek crossed	42.4
Hokendauqua Creek crossed	45.9
Lehigh Gap	54.1
Bowmanstown	59.9

At this point, owing to the road being torn up, the measurements stopped. It was seven miles more to Mauch Chunk, and the walk is said to have extended four miles beyond the site of that town, so that by this measurement the total distance walked in eighteen hours would have been 71 miles. William J. Buck states in his *History of the Indian Walk* (1886) that the total distance was 66½ miles.

The walkers stopped fifteen minutes for dinner on the first day at Springtown, 25.7 miles from starting point. They spent the night at Hokendauqua after twelve hours of walking, thus making 45.9 miles in the twelve hours, and leaving about 21 miles for the six hours on the second day.

Albert Cook Myers is making a special study of the Indian towns known to or visited by William Penn and the above expedition was in furtherance of this research.

COOPERATION IN COLLECTING HISTORICAL MATERIAL.

By Amelia M. Gummere.

Under the new President of Swarthmore College, Dr. Frank Aydelotte, an effort is being made to revive interest in the Quaker collections of an historical character, now housed at that college. Dr. J. Russell Hayes, Librarian, has appealed to Friends generally for old relics, family papers, diaries, journals and letters which are valuable historical records of the manners and customs of our Quaker ancestors.

This paper long since made such an appeal to its readers and to Friends generally. The subject is now most timely, in a period of transition like the present, when, if not actually as migratory as much of our population is growing to be, many persons of Friendly affiliations are yet on the move, either to apartment houses, or to other sections of this great country. A general sentiment that such things are "in the way" has often been heard. We would point out that there are several places where such possessions would be joyfully received, and carefully guarded, until the time when the historian of a later day has need of them. Moreover, it is often the most insignificant thing which will prove to be of greatest value, as when a tiny post office receipt at a New Jersey town, in the days of Benjamin Franklin, located a well known Tory, then

in hiding, for the late historian, Moses Coit Tyler. Cooking receipts, doctors' prescriptions—everything has its value, and if not "old enough," time will make it so.

The Friends' Historical Society, Friends' Library of Philadelphia, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Swarthmore College and Haverford College, with Westtown and other Friendly centres or schools, can all receive and safeguard such material. We are just now most interested that *somewhere* this shall be preserved. If, as is proposed, the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia is to become the Friends' Historical Society of *America,* this point must be doubly urged. The collection of Quakeriana at Haverford College is the largest and most valuable in the United States. If, as we hope, all these various headquarters, to name only those in Pennsylvania, become the receiving centres for the efforts of residents in their vicinity, or, for any reason, of persons most interested in those particular collections, the great object will have been attained. This magazine should be the medium of information regarding such work, reporting receipts and aiding collectors. With such coöperation, in prospect of a growing membership in the Society which this publication represents, there are great possibilities before us.

Therefore, let all Friends or those who are descendants of Friends, and who are interested in Quaker history, see to it that their heirlooms reach a place of security during their lifetime.

WOOLMAN MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.

The Fifth Annual Report of the Trustees of the John Woolman Memorial Association was issued in the Twelfth Month, 1921. As usual it is full of interesting information and forward looking promise.

The Annual Meeting was held Tenth Month, 15, 1921, at Mount Holly, N. J., in the Memorial House, "which John Woolman erected in the summer of 1771 for his only child, Mary, wife of John Comfort." Thus the 150th anniversary of the building was celebrated.

It is estimated that more than two thousand people have visited the Memorial House during the past year. Improvements about the place are being gradually made, as funds warrant. Various old historical relics are being donated by interested friends. It is hoped to make the Memorial more of a community center, perhaps by establishing in it a gift or exchange shop where women of the neighborhood may place their home-made products for sale on commission. A splendid possibility for the future is that of moving over from an adjoining property the original home of Woolman himself, now used as a barn.

Funds are needed. Even modest gifts will pay large returns. If the endowment of $25,000, now under way, can be completed, great things can be accomplished.

The *Report* is signed by Amelia Mott Gummere, President of the Association, who has been architect-in-chief of the whole memorial project. The *Bulletin* would add its word of exhortation to the modest appeal of the *Report*. Here is an opportunity for Friends to fashion a memorial to one of the greatest of Quaker saints, and to perpetuate an historical shrine of very wide interest and appeal. R. W. K.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting of the FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA was held at Twelfth Street Meeting House, Philadelphia, 11 mo. 28, 1921, beginning at 7:45 P.M.

A list of the Officers and Councillors elected is printed on page 2 of this BULLETIN.

Several interesting historical objects, including old manuscripts, were exhibited, and brief addresses of exposition were made by the exhibitors. A list of objects shown will be printed in the next issue of the BULLETIN.

ITEMS FROM PERIODICALS.

Professor Harlow Lindley's paper on the history of Indiana Yearly Meeting, read at the centennial celebration of Indiana Yearly Meeting, was published in abridged form in *The American Friend*, 8 mo. 25, 1921. In the same paper also are pictures, historically valuable, of Benjamin Johnson, Timothy Nicholson, and Luke Woodward, and of the historical pageant enacted at the centennial celebration, 8 mo., 1921. Professor Lindley's paper will be published in full in the next number of the BULLETIN.

There is an interesting and moving story of the early days of Friends' missionary work in Alaska told in *The American Friend*, 10 mo. 6, 1921.

"A Half Forgotten Prophet" in *The Friend* (Phila.), 9 mo. 8, 1921, pp. 109–111, deals with the writings and message of Isaac Penington.

There are historical items on Stony Brook Meeting near Princeton, N. J., in *The Friend* (Phila.), 7 mo. 14, 1921, p. 14. Reference is also made to an article on the same subject in the same paper, vol. 87, Nos. 33–41.

Interesting items entitled "Charles Lamb and the Quakers" are in *The Friend* (Phila.), 9 mo. 29, 1921, pp. 151–152.

In *The Friend* (Phila.), 5 mo. 12, 1921, there is an interesting note, based upon an article by William C. Poole in the *American Forestry Magazine,* about the old Friends' Meeting House at Easton, Md. The suggestion is made that it may be the oldest frame building now standing in the United States. The present writer imagines there are many houses in the older settled parts of the east that would challenge the claim. The alleged building dates of some old frame houses are as follows: At Plymouth, Mass., the Crowe House, 1664, and the Harlow House, 1677. At Duxbury, Mass., there is the Miles Standish House, 1666, and the John Alden House also claiming a very early date. There is an old frame house in St. Augustine, Florida, that is probably of a much earlier date than any of the above. It is to be said, however, that few of the "oldest houses" can establish their exact building dates by such authentic evidence as that offered by the Easton Meeting House.

In the *Friends' Intelligencer,* 9 mo. 17, 1921, there is an interesting historical sketch of Quaker Hill Meeting, Dutchess County, N. Y.

The cloak worn by Stephen Grellet during his travels in the ministry has been given by a descendant to the American Friends' Service Committee to be sent to the sufferers in Russia.—*Friends' Intelligencer,* 10 mo. 15, 1921, p. 662.

A brief historical sketch of "The Work of English Friends in India," by Joseph Taylor, is in the *Friends Missionary Advocate,* 9th and 10th mos., 1921.

Extracts from unpublished sermons of Lucretia Mott appeared in *The Quaker,* 3 mo. 4, and 10 mo. 14, 1921.

In *The Quaker* of 7 mo. 8, 1921, there is a valuable historical article, and documentary material, entitled, "An account of Henry Clay's Visit to Richmond, Indiana, in 1842." Light is thrown on the relation of Friends to the anti-slavery movement. In the same connection should be noted an item in the *American Friend,* 10 mo. 20, 1921, p. 853. It tells of the memorial stone recently set up at Richmond, Ind., to commemorate Clay's visit, and the action of the Quaker Abolitionist, Hiram Mendenhall, in presenting him with a numerously signed petition asking him to free his slaves. On the same subject see the BULLETIN, 6: 38–48, 79–82; also Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism,* 2: 588.

Some future historian, desiring to add color to his account of the Orthodox-Hicksite separation, may find use for the story of "The Hicksite Horse," told in *The Quaker,* 8 mo. 5th, 1921, p. 92. The plot is laid among the early settlements of Friends in Indiana. The uncompromising orthodox woman Friend refuses utterly to complete a religious journey because she suddenly discovers that she is riding behind a horse owned by a Hicksite Friend. The tale is subtitled "A True Story."

There is an interesting historical sketch of Valley Meeting, Pa., by Priscilla W. Streets, in *The Quaker,* 9 mo. 16, 1921, pp. 128–129.

In *The Quaker* of 9 mo. 30, 1921, an interesting letter of 1853 is reprinted from a Missouri newspaper. It is an acid rejoinder from the Governor of Missouri to the representations of Josiah Forster and his colleagues who constituted a deputation from London Yearly Meeting. The visiting Friends were presenting anti-slavery addresses to the Governors of various states.

The "Notes from American Friends' Service Committee," printed in various Quaker periodicals, will be a mine of information for future historians of the post-war work of Friends.

The problem of architecture at Westtown School, Pa., is discussed in its historical setting by Henry D. Wood in *The Westonian* of Third mo., 1921. The historical evolution of the present group of buildings is interestingly set forth.

In the *William and Mary College Quarterly,* 4 mo., 1921 (Williamsburg, Va.), are several letters by Robert Pleasants, a Friend, of Curles, Va. They are dated 1771 to 1774 and have to do with business, political, and personal matters. In one letter, of 8 mo. 20, 1774, he introduces to Anthony Benezet the Virginia delegates to the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia. They "have deserved well for their attachmt to the interests of their country, and most if not all of them for their favourable sentiments and services to Friends, as well in a legislative as private Capacity, perticularly our Friend Patrick Henry to whose character and Centiments thou art not altogether a stranger" (p. 107).

Elsewhere (p. 108, foot-note) the editor quotes Roger Atkinson in a letter to Samuel Pleasants as follows: "The 4th a real half Quaker, Patrick Henry . . . in religious matters a saint but the very devil in Politicks—a son of Thunder."

It is announced that further letters of Robert Pleasants will be printed in succeeding numbers of the *Quarterly.*

In connection with the above, attention is called to letters of the Quaker "exiles" in Va., 1777, appealing to Robert Pleasants for help. See the BULLETIN, 2 (1908): 25–27.

"The Quaker's Attitude Towards the Revolution" is an article by the late Adair P. Archer in the *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 7 mo., 1921, pp. 167–182. It is a sympathetic study of the Quaker opposition to military service during the American Revolution, based chiefly upon the valuable letters of Robert Pleasants which are largely quoted. The article also brings out the anti-slavery attitude of Robert Pleasants.

Since the war so many articles about Friends and their service in Europe have appeared in various magazines that the BULLETIN can attempt no more than a list of some of the more important articles:

"Friends Unit in Germany," *Survey*, 43 (Dec. 13, '19): 226.

Henry J. Cadbury, "Nationwide Adventure in Friendship," *Survey*, 45 (Nov. 27, 1920): 309–13.

"Quaker Messages," *Nation* (N. Y.), 111 (Sept. 18, 1920): 335–6.

"Quakers' War Record," *Nation* (N. Y.), 110 (May 15, 1920): 640–1.

F. J. Libby, "Clothe the Naked," *Survey*, 46 (June 25, 1921): 448.

L. S. Gannett, "Food, the Quakers, and the Bolsheviks," *Nation* (N. Y.), 113 (Aug. 31, 1921): 223–4.

E. A. Steiner, three articles on relief work of Friends, in the *Independent*, May 21, June 4, and June 18, 1921.

"The Truest Sect," *Nation* (N. Y.), 112 (June 15, 1921): 838.

It seems worth while to write into the historical record the following from the Journal of Joseph Fort Newton, printed in the *Atlantic Monthly*, 128 (Sept., 1921): 379–380: "*March 6*, 1918.—Returning from Edinburgh, I broke my journey at the ancient city of York. . . . I was taken to various places of interest, including, of course, the beautiful old gray Minster. Also to the grave of John Woolman, the Quaker, a brief biography of whom I had once written. I knew he died while on a mission to England, but I had forgotten that he was buried in York. Reverently we stood by the grave of that simple man,—daringly radical, but divinely gentle,—who was the incarnation of the spirit of Christ, and whose life of love and service, of pity and prayer, made him a kind of sad St. Francis of the new world. York is a stronghold of the Society of Friends—the noblest body of organized mysticism on earth. Aye, the war is making men either skeptics or mystics, and wisdom lies, methinks, with the mystics, whose faith is symbolized in the beautiful Listening Angel I saw the other day in the Southwell Cathedral."

The Journal of the Friends Historical Society (London), Vol. 18 (Nos. 1–2 combined), 1921, contains as usual much valuable historical matter. The items that touch more directly upon American Quaker history are as follows:

In the history of "Devonshire House Reference Library" (to be concluded later), p. 5, is related the effort of English Friends to avoid controversy by buying up, in 1692, a shipment of books by George Keith, and thus keep them out of circulation in England.

Albert Cook Myers (pp. 41–42) contributes interesting material from letters of William Logan to James Pemberton, dated 1761, concerning the attitude of Friends toward King George III at the time of his marriage and accession. The letters are from the *Pemberton Papers* in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

There is a most appreciative notice (p. 62) of Allen C. Thomas. "Had he lived he would have been this year's President of the Friends' Historical Society (London)."

"The Eighteenth Century Quaker" is an article by John E. Southall in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner,* 7 mo., 1921, pp. 257–266. The writer defends the Friends of that period from the charge of narrow-minded formality and deadness.

The fiftieth anniversary of the opening of Kansas Yearly Meeting was celebrated by Kansas Friends at their annual gathering in 10 mo., 1921. Some items from an historical sketch of the Yearly Meeting by Dr. Henry C. Fellow are given in the *American Friend,* 10 mo. 27, 1921, p. 865. The entire sketch by Dr. Fellow will be printed in book form.

An interesting incident from the life of Thomas Scattergood, illustrating Divine guidance in daily life, is related in *The Friend,* Phila., 10 mo. 27, 1921, p. 200. The incident is connected also with the peace testimony of Friends.

The hundredth birthday of Mary Ann Coffin was celebrated 9 mo. 2, 1921, at Whittier, California. Her life epitomizes the transit of Quakerism across the American continent. She was born in North Carolina and thence made her way, in the various waves of Quaker migration, through the middle west to the Pacific Coast. See notice in *American Friend,* 9 mo. 15, 1921, p. 754. A statement by Mary Ann Coffin, containing historical reminiscences, is in the *Pacific Friend,* 9th and 10th mos., 1921, pp. 13–14. Since writing the above, word has come of the death of Mary Ann Coffin, 11th mo. 8, 1921.

A notice of the life of Elizabeth Haddon Estaugh, and of her "Great Bible," still in existence, is in *The Friend* (Phila.), 8 mo. 11 and 18, 1921.

A sketch of the life of John Gratton, by Emily Manners, is in *The Friend* (London), 9 mo. 16 and 23, 1921. He was a minister of the first generation of Friends, who suffered much for his faith, including an imprisonment of more than five and a half years. He was born about 1641 and died in 1712.

A striking incident in the life of David Sands is related in *The Friend* (Phila.), 8 mo. 25, 1921, p. 87.

BOOK NOTICES AND REVIEWS.

Jones, Rufus M. *The Later Periods of Quakerism.* 2 vols. Macmillan, London and New York. 1921.

I have been asked to write a short review, from the British standpoint, of Rufus Jones's latest book; and I gladly offer the following remarks, though conscious how inadequate they are to express the debt we owe to the author for this illuminating story of the arrest of growth in the Society and of its later developments.

It is a great thing that the work should have been undertaken by one who has sufficient knowledge of the thoughts of humanity to set forth the Quaker idea and way of life in relation to the wider religious movements of the world. Not the least valuable parts of the book, especially for readers who are not themselves Friends (of whom it is to be hoped there will be many), are the "background" chapters, including the Introduction, with its powerful exposition of Mysticism and Evangelicalism, and those which deal with Quietism, the spiritual environment of Eighteenth Century Quakerism, and the religious tendencies of the Nineteenth Century. It is a source of wonder to a British reader that any American could gain so full and accurate a knowledge as is here shown of the details of our history on this side of the Atlantic. After careful reading I can hardly discover any mistakes of fact; though the proportions of things, as they appear to some of us over here, are not always those which we ourselves should have given them. There is, for example, very little allusion to the Foreign Mission work which has taken so large a place in our activities since the middle of the nineteenth century.

Minor points open to criticism there are, of course, and must be. Quite at the opening of his story (p. 3) the author says that in the eighteenth century "there was" (he is inclined to think) "no striking decrease of

zeal." If he means "among the few leaders," this may be true; but he himself provides sorrowful evidence, in his account of John Griffith and elsewhere, of the "low ebb" to which spiritual life had fallen among the rank and file. The picture of the "Eldership," as it prevailed from about 1750 to 1850 (pp. 126–7), may appear to English readers somewhat idealized. It is, I think, too favorable a judgment, so far as we are concerned, to say (p. 669) that "Friends saw clearly from the beginning of their history that . . . they must educate the entire membership of the Society." The reading of the Bible by the head of the family (p. 191) was usually practised both morning and evening, and not once only in the day; and "opportunities" for vocal prayer or exhortation frequently occurred at these times, especially when visiting ministers were present. The main objections felt to congregational singing—that it may mean the utterance of solemn words which are not felt, and that if it is to be done *well* it requires so much arrangement that it is in danger of becoming a performance—are not mentioned (p. 911). It is not enough to call the disuse of singing a "fixed habit which goes on operating after everybody has forgotten its rational grounds." The veiled irony of the allusion to pastors who "restrained aimless preaching and filled the meeting-time with profitable talk" might perhaps well have been made explicit. We, at least, though we have no pastors, know too much of it—even from some recorded ministers. The use of the words "liberal," "advanced," "progressive" (for the tendencies among the Friends who followed J. J. Gurney) may be necessary to distinguish these from the Conservatism which bound the Society; but it needs care. For, as the author points out, theologically it meant not progress but reaction. "Theologically," he says (p. 529), "Gurney stood in line with the puritan opponents of Quakerism."

These, however, are for the most part merely "things that might have been expressed differently," and they do not lessen the impressiveness of the author's presentation of our history during the last two centuries. Particularly valuable are the pictures of the travelling ministers and the heavy "burdens" they carried—burdens that were increased, often almost beyond bearing, by the Quietism in which they had been trained, with its fear of "creaturely activity." "The creature" must be nothing and do nothing; "the Creator" must do all. No movement, in ministry or religious work of any kind, could be entered upon without a distinct and unmistakable supernatural call, otherwise it was merely of man himself. No use of reason or thought could be allowed, lest it should interfere with the direct prompting and guidance of the Spirit. The author shows that while the faithfulness to apprehended duty of these servants of God is a thing for which we can never cease to give thanks, yet the theory that underlay it resulted in impoverishment—not of their own souls, but of the body to which they ministered. Only persons of a

single psychological type could undertake the work of vocal ministry, and the kindred work of religious teaching was almost wholly neglected.

The author deals powerfully with the impact on a body thus trained in Quietism—a body which (so far at least as the bulk of the members is regarded) had largely lost the sense of a mission to humanity and had become absorbed in preserving its own purity—of the great Evangelical revival of the later eighteenth century. This is a subject which, owing in part to its controversial aspects, has hitherto received quite inadequate attention. There is probably more to be discovered about it than appears in these pages. The new influence was late in touching the Society of Friends, and when the contact came this was largely due to the association of Friends with Evangelical Churchmen in the great crusade against Slavery. It appears to have made itself felt in England earlier than in America, though it should be borne in mind that two of the most influential spirits in changing the theological outlook of the Society, David Sands and Stephen Grellet, reached their religious position without contact with English Friends. David Sands had been a Presbyterian, and Stephen Grellet a French royalist and unbeliever in Christianity. The question whether the great American Separation of 1827–28 would have come about without the pressure of visiting ministers from England, like William Forster and Thomas Shillitoe, is left undecided. My own mind inclines to the view that this influence has been exaggerated; and that the change in England and Ireland was more a result than a cause of the Separation. That disaster was uniformly represented here as the direct outcome of "unsound" doctrine; and it was, I believe, the fear of the results of mysticism (erroneously confused with deism) which more than anything else turned our people in the Evangelical direction. The leader in this great change was of course J. J. Gurney, who, while believing himself a thoroughgoing Friend, had never understood or assimilated the mystical element in early Quakerism. His personality and his momentous work on both sides of the Atlantic are treated at once with sympathy and with discretion.

The author deals in an interesting way with the newer movement in England which has sprung from the intellectual awakening of the nineteenth century, and in which he himself, though with natural modesty he does not mention it, has had no small share. This movement has brought the greater part of the Society in this country back from the devious path of "Gurneyism" to some fresh understanding of the real nature and basis of our faith as Friends, but with a wider outlook, and less fear of human reason, than marked the Conservative Friends of a century ago.

The latest developments of our work, since the great War broke upon the world, which are opening up to us new horizons and a new sense that humanity needs us, are scarcely touched in these volumes. Perhaps

they are too new, and their outcome too uncertain, for their wise treatment at present. Perhaps, also, the history was pretty much written before these developments began—or at any rate before the author undertook the heavy burden of the chairmanship of the American Friends' Service Committee. What is certain is that his great work for the Society of Friends, as philosopher, preacher, historian and administrator, will not be forgotten.

EDWARD GRUBB.

To the above estimate from the British viewpoint, the following notice is added concerning the sections of the book dealing more particularly with developments in America.

The starting point of the story told in these two last volumes of the series has been fixed approximately at 1725. Thus in tracing tendencies, testimonies, and practices in the eighteenth century there is some overlapping—enough for a solid junction—with the earlier volume, *Quakers in the American Colonies*. Coming into the early nineteenth century there is an absorbingly interesting chapter on "the Great Migration" of Friends from the Southern states into the Middle West—a movement traced in later chapters to its ultimate goal on the Pacific Coast. There is a full chapter given to each of the great separations prior to 1850, and brief notices of the minor divisions of a later date. This dreary tale of discord is relieved by stirring accounts of the peace testimony, the educational institutions established by Friends, the anti-slavery agitation, and the work for Indians and colored freedmen. An extremely valuable chapter is that on "The Great Revival" written by one who is at once a competent psychologist and a student of religious history. The portion of the work dealing particularly with American Quakerism comes to its close with a chapter near the end of the second volume on "American Quakerism in the Latest Period."

Those who are looking for a complete compendium of facts, or an intensive study of narrow fields of Quaker history, will be disappointed. That would require several volumes the size of these—yet readers frequently expect the impossible in a general work. The author has indeed used much space that might have been devoted to a more detailed study of Quaker history, in depicting the general background of religious and philosophic thought against which alone one can see clearly the evolution of Quaker life. What has been done is far more valuable than the work of the mere annalist—and the author was better fitted by genius and training to do it than any other living Friend. The minute details of the picture, for American Quakerism, should be filled in as time passes by careful research into various fields of our history and the publication of resulting monographs. The encyclopedic history of American Quakerism still awaits the future.

From a technical standpoint my criticism of these volumes, as of others in the series, is their lack of bibliographical lists. Frequent references to authorities are given in foot-notes, but in the nature of the case such references are scattering, incomplete, and full of repetition. A classified summary of authorities, by chapter or volume, is now a recognized adjunct of standard histories. A still more vital need in any history is an index, and that is provided in splendid fashion in this work.

No religious denomination in America today can boast a history done with such philosophic grasp and deep religious insight as *The Later Periods of Quakerism.* With the other volumes of the series, it should find a place in every library of religious history, and in the home of every Friend who values the Quaker heritage and believes in the further mission of the Friendly faith.

R. W. K.

Mendenhall, Alice H. *Some Social Aspects of the Society of Friends in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* Salem, Ohio. 1914.

"Social Service" has become a greatly developed idea since Alice Heald Mendenhall wrote her thesis with the above title in 1914 for the degree of A.M. at the University of Chicago. At the time of the later publication of this brief study, this magazine was engaged in an effort to preserve some of the Quaker social aspects which make up the historic background of the Society of Friends.

The little paper of only 43 pages condenses in admirable form the history of certain valuable efforts put forth since the days of Fox to ameliorate the ills that flesh is heir to, and to study what contribution Quakerism has made to the general sum of social service rendered mankind in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is of especial value now, when Friends should be growing more familiar with the work of Bellers, Penington, Story, Shillitoe, Allen and Bedford—not to mention John Woolman.

The author has done admirably with the material she has had at hand. She does not seem to have had access to many originals, in the University library which was apparently her only source of information. The bibliography is limited, and might be wonderfully expanded; but we wish that our young Friends might give serious study, in the formation of clubs and classes in history and economics, to the authors to whom this little pamphlet so admirably refers. It is for this reason that it is noticed at the present time.

A. M. G.

A Chapter of great value (Book IV, Chapter II) in *The Faith of a Quaker,* by John W. Graham, M.A., Principal of Dalton Hall, University of Manchester:

There is no intention here to review, as a theological work, this able and well-written book by the Principal of Dalton Hall, Manchester. His excellent *Life of William Penn* is well known to most of us. The author in this volume speaks as an individual, although it was evidently intended as an exposition of the faith of the Society as a whole. Its theological aspect has been well reviewed before, and varying have been the opinions expressed, not always favorably, by our most orthodox brethren.

Upon this it is not our purpose here to dwell. The book, which was published last year, at the University Press, Cambridge, has a valuable chapter on war, as referred to above. This chapter should be recalled to our minds as a most timely dissertation, and a very clear presentation of the incompatibility of war with the spirit of Quakerism and of Christianity. This essay was first published in separate form. Taken together with Will Irwin's *The Next War,* the two furnish incontrovertible proof why mankind should seek arbitration as a means of settling international disputes. If the Quakers truly live, as did George Fox, in that "life and power that takes away the occasion of war," they are returning to the original teaching of the Master. "Whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members? Ye lust, and have not. Ye kill . . . and cannot obtain. Ye fight and war, yet ye have not."

Through the Cromwellian period, the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, with the press gangs and other persecutions, Friends suffered in varying degree on the peace question. But it remained for 1916 to bring the supreme test. The War for Independence and the Civil War brought the crisis home to American Friends. Those in England have nobly borne the fiery trial of today, and although the official record of the London *Meeting for Sufferings,* as given in the book under notice, shows thirty-two per cent of the available young men of the Society in England joining the forces, yet both in Great Britain and in America the Society as a whole has not failed in its great testimony. A. M. G.

To the list of books and articles by Allen C. Thomas, printed in the *Bulletin,* 10: 2 (May, 1921), pp. 45–47, the following should be added:

History of Friends in America. Fifth edition. (*Pennsbury Series,* IV.) Phila., 1919. This latest revised edition contains a valuable new chapter covering the years 1905–1919. The new statistical table and the supplementary bibliography are also important additions.

"Present Tendencies in the Society of Friends in America," in *The Journal of Religion,* 1 (Jan., 1921): 30–46. After a succinct historical introduction the writer traces the developments and tendencies since 1914.

Siebert, Wilbur H. *Loyalists of Pennsylvania.* Columbus, Ohio, 1920. Vol. XXIV, No. 23, of the Ohio State University Bulletin.

This is a brief sketch (117 pp.) of the loyalists (Tories) of Pennsylvania by one who has made some study of the loyalists in various sections of America during the Revolutionary War. The work is based upon well-known secondary authorities and printed sources, with practically no use of the vast stores of manuscript material available in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. The items about Quaker loyalists are brief, scattering, and quite inadequate, taken largely from two or three secondary accounts. If the author had consulted Sharpless, *A Quaker Experiment in Government,* he would have found the fruits of research into manuscript sources of which his own pages are quite innocent. Also, in this BULLETIN, 2: 25–27, are printed two interesting letters from the "Exiles in Virginia."

A small but valuable volume entitled *Life at the Old Home* was published in 1916 by Francis L. Bacon, for private distribution. It is an account written by his mother, Hannah Jones Foulke (Mrs. Francis Bacon), 1831–1916, of life on the old farm at Penllyn, Pa. It contains biographical sketches of Edward Foulke (1784–1851), Tacy Jones Foulke (1791–1865), and Susan Foulke (1781–1842). There are also valuable items on country life and farm practice in mid-nineteenth century Pennsylvania.

Annual Monitor for 1919–20. Headley Bros., London, 1920.

As no *Annual Monitor* was published in 1919 the present volume covers two years, as above. Fifty-four of the deaths recorded were due directly to the war. In addition to the short entries that give merely the name, age, and time and place of death, there are fifty-six memoirs and nineteen portraits.

Two books about Herbert Hoover, published in 1920, are: Kellogg, Vernon. *Herbert Hoover.* Appleton. Also, Lane, R. W. *Making of Herbert Hoover.* Century Co.

The student of the social message of Friends will not wish to miss *Quakerism and Industry,* edited by J. E. Hodgkin. It is the record of a conference of employers, mostly Friends, held at Woodbrooke, England, in 1918.

The New Emphasis in Quakerism is a pamphlet of 14 pp. by Alfred C. Garrett, issued by the Representative Meeting of Philadelphia Yearly

Meeting. It is an examination of the effect on Quakerism of the war and post-war problems. The new emphasis is found to be upon the love of God in the heart, impelling to good works.

T. Edmund Harvey's *The Long Pilgrimage* (1921 Swarthmore Lecture) has been published by the Woodbrooke Extension Comm., London. 70 pp. $.50.

E. Vipont Brown's *Quaker Aspects of Truth* (Swarthmore Press, London) is reviewed most favorably in *The Contemporary Review,* Sept., 1921, pp. 424–425. It is described as "setting forth the Quaker aspect of Truth in its truest colours. It almost persuades one, in no ironical sense, to be a Quaker."

Ten thousand copies of the German translation of *Friends and War* have been produced by the Quaker center in Berlin, Dorotheenstrasse, II, under the title *Die Quäker und der Krieg.* Preliminary distribution among 200 people has led to many requests for further copies. One man in Upper Silesia has asked for 2,000 copies to distribute among members of his Society, and a clergyman has asked to be allowed to advertise it in his paper, but expresses the fear that the requests that are likely to follow the announcements may be "too irksome for Friends to fulfil." Requests for 10 to 20 copies are continually being received. A supply of the translation is being sent to the Friends' Bookshop, 140 Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2, and will be on sale at one shilling. H. W. Peet.

Thomas, Flora. *The Builders of Milford.* Haverfordwest, Wales, 1920.

This is the story of the settlement of Milford Haven, in southwestern Wales. Its point of tangency with American Quakerism is at Nantucket Island. When Friends of Nantucket found their whaling industry ruined by the American Revolution they sought new places from which to operate. William Rotch tried to get a foot-hold at Dunkirk, France. Others went to Nova Scotia. From the latter place certain Friends, notably Samuel Starbuck, his son Samuel, Jr., and Timothy Folger, went to settle Milford about ten years after the close of the Revolution.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

(Readers are urged to send promptly to the Editor any information or suggestive clues in regard to Queries.)

Amelia M. Gummere edited the BULLETIN, Vol. 10, No. 2, the memorial number to Allen C. Thomas. Owing to her modesty in withholding her name the present editor has received much credit not his due.

QUERY: Regarding the date of an old lithograph, bearing the following inscription: "South View of Haverford School, Pennsylvania.—Drawn on Stone by J. Collins." There is a copy of this in the Haverford College Library, and one in the Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London. It is a view of Founders Hall, with trees and lawns, walks, driveways, and fences in the foreground. It was reproduced in the *History of Haverford College, 1830–1890,* p. 56, and dated 1833. The original lithograph is not dated and the view presented does not correspond with the description of the School in 1833 by John Collins in the above volume, pp. 110–111. The query is, whether the view is of a later date than 1833, or whether the artist anticipated the future development of the grounds.

It is said that the last surviving Indian in Bucks County, Pa., was "Indian Billy," who lived in an old house on the farm of William Worthington, near Mill Creek, below Wycombe. He died about 1780. See *Bucks County Historical Soc. Papers,* 4 (1917): 673–674.

While at Wrightstown, attending the Spring meeting of the Friends' Historical Society, the present writer gathered an item of colorful lore about Indian Billy from our aged Friend, Comly Woodman, who received it from Spencer Worthington, grandson of William Worthington. Polly was the wife of the old Indian and, when times were hard, she was not averse to soliciting charity. For that purpose a friend composed the following rhyme:

"I am old Indian William's wife,
He loves me as he does his life;
Indeed 'tis even said by some
He loves me as he does his rum."

The widely heralded discovery that the old barn at Jordans, England, was built from the timbers of the famous ship *Mayflower* is of interest to Friends because the alleged discovery was made by Rendel Harris.

Also, a section of one of the timbers from the old barn has been brought to America by Samuel Hill, an American Friend, and placed in the "Portal of Peace" between Canada and the United States, dedicated at Blaine, Washington, 9 mo. 5, 1921.

The press of the United States in general has accepted without question the announcement that the identity of the old *Mayflower* timbers has been definitively established. Perhaps the only needful word of caution is that readers of the BULLETIN should not accept the "finding" of the old ship's timbers with a greater degree of certainty than Rendel Harris assumes in his book. While the title and the Introduction of his book (*The Finding of the Mayflower*) assume that the discovery has been made, the conclusions in the text are often stated with much greater caution. For example, p. 25: "But, in view of the expert's opinion, we must not too hastily identify the cross-beam of the barn with the great beam amidships in the *Mayflower*." Also, pp. 28, 30: Rendel Harris seeks to identify some old incisions on a beam as the incomplete remains of "Mayflower, Harwich." His photographer made out the inscription as "R. Harris"! The author disclaims the honor, and concedes the "R" to be the final letter of the ship's name, the other letters having disappeared. Yet he adds, "On closer investigation, I begin to be skeptical as to the letter 'R.'" The present writer visited the Jordans barn some months ago and after examining the incisions felt great unity with the author's latter skepticism.

It seems to have been quite common in the old days for English barns to be built from the timbers of discarded ships. It is possible that the old Jordans barn is the *Mayflower* doing its ultimate service. By an extraordinary amount of careful research the distinguished scholar has brought together some circumstantial evidence that establishes a possibility, perhaps a probability. The case, however, is far from proved. The author's own conclusion very properly begins, "If the arguments of the foregoing pages are valid." A competent reviewer in a historical magazine has well said that this book and a prior one about the *Mayflower* by the same author "illustrate in a curious way how conjecture and probabilities can be used to supply the place of definitive evidence."

We are deeply indebted to Rendel Harris for the great amount of his research into the history of the *Mayflower* and for this new possibility that he has pointed out.

QUERY: Who was the Richard Smith whose estate purchased the old North Meeting House and grounds, at Sixth and Noble Streets, and made them into a children's play-ground?

Answer: The Richard Smith referred to was born in Philadelphia, 3 mo. 2, 1821, and died in Paris, 9 mo. 8, 1894. Following his father's

profession, he became a type-founder, and made a large fortune during his long business career in Philadelphia. His estate has established three play-grounds in Philadelphia, and built the Richard Smith Memorial Gateway in Fairmount Park. This gateway contains, among other statues, one of Richard Smith, the donor.

An appreciation of Isaac Sharpless by the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 44 (1920): 190–191.

Charles F. Jenkins, of Philadelphia, is President, for the current year, of the Friends' Historical Society, England.

On account of the state of his health Norman Penney retired at the close of 9 mo., 1921, from the active direction of the Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London. His great work as librarian and historian, and his generous help to students of history are well known to many American Friends. A notice of his activities and writings is in *The Friend* (London), 10 mo. 7, 1921. M. Ethel Crawshaw, for many years the capable assistant of Norman Penney, has taken over the active direction of the library, although the part-time services of the latter, as Consulting Librarian, will still be available.

In the section of Tumulty's "Woodrow Wilson Disclosed," published in the *New York Times,* Oct. 30, 1921, p. 2, there is an account of how A. Mitchell Palmer in 1912 declined "for an unusual reason" the offer of President-elect Wilson to make him Secretary of War. "Mr. Palmer frankly told the President that he was a Quaker and that the tenets of his religion prevented his acceptance of any position having to do with the conduct of war. The President tried to overcome these scruples, but his efforts were unavailing."

An Old Hoax Revived.

Again there has appeared, in Boston as usual, the old Cotton Mather letter in which the famous divine advises, since William Penn and his associates are on the sea, bound for Pennsylvania, that they be intercepted and sold as slaves in the West Indies. The introduction of the new heresy into America would thus be averted.

The letter has been proved to be a complete hoax, as was stated by Professor Thomas and others in earlier numbers of this publication. (See

BULLETIN, 1: 89–90, 3: 148, 8: 43–44.) The matter is noted again at this time because each time the story reappears it traps the unwary.

A. M. G.

The Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia has come into possession of the original patent to Benjamin Duffield for 250 acres in Bucks County, Pa., from Thomas Penn, 8 mo. 9, 1733. It was presented to the Society by William T. Elkinton from the papers of his father, Joseph S. Elkinton.

QUAKER NECROLOGY.

(It seems suitable to establish this department in the BULLETIN as an index to biographical material on the lives of prominent Friends. While emphasis will be laid upon the particular field of the BULLETIN, American Quakerism, yet the biography of notable Friends abroad will not be passed over.)

ALLEN, SAMUEL LEEDS, 1841–1918. A successful business man prominent in the religious, philanthropic, and educational work of Friends. Member of Board of Managers of Haverford College, and of the Westtown School Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. See *Samuel L. Allen, Intimate Recollections, Letters,* compiled by Elizabeth R. Allen, Philadelphia, 1920.

BISPHAM, DAVID, 1857–1921. Considering the Friendly testimony against music it is not surprising that it took the Society two centuries to produce a David Bispham. He was famous as opera, oratorio and concert singer, lecturer, and teacher of song. He was born in Philadelphia and died in New York City. He graduated at Haverford College in 1876, and was granted the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1914, in recognition of his art. See his autobiography, *A Quaker Singer's Recollections,* Macmillan, 1920. Biographical sketch, with portrait, in *Haverford News,* 10 mo. 4, 1921, p. 1. Appreciative notice in *The Nation,* N. Y., 113 (10 mo. 19, 1921): 437. Many notices in daily press.

BLACKLEDGE, PHILANDER. Died 9 mo. 3, 1921, at Seneca, Missouri, in his seventy-eighth year. Notice in *American Friend,* 10 mo. 13, 1921, p. 835. He and his wife Caroline were formerly missionaries among the Indians of Oklahoma.

BUTLER, ESTHER H. Died at Keuling, near Nanking, China, 8 mo. 8, 1921, in her seventieth year. For thirty-four years a Friends' missionary in China. Notice in *American Friend,* 9 mo. 22, 1921, p. 776. A longer notice is in the *Friends' Missionary Advocate,* 10 mo., 1921, pp. 310–311.

DOAN, MARCIA S. The sudden death, 7 mo. 24, 1921, of Marcia S. Doan, Editor of *The Quaker,* was a serious loss to the Society of Friends and to the cause of Quaker periodical literature. She met her death in an

automobile accident while on her way to the Young Friends' Conference, at Earlham College. A sketch of her life is contained in *The Quaker*, 7 mo. 22, 1921, pp. 73–74.

Fry, Rt. Hon. Lewis. He died at Bristol, England, 9 mo. 10, 1921, in his ninetieth year. He was active in business, educational, and political life,—for many years a member of Parliament and a Privy Councillor. Notice in *The Friend* (London), 9 mo. 16, 1921, pp. 600–601.

Gummere, Francis Barton. Born 3 mo. 6, 1855, Burlington, N. J., d. 5 mo. 30, 1919, Haverford, Pa. Scholar, teacher, author. Best biographical account in *Modern Philology*, 27 (September, 1919): 57–62. Also *Nation*, N. Y., 109 (July 26, 1919): 109–111; *The Friend*, Philadelphia, 6 mo. 12, 1919, p. 626, and 6 mo. 26, 1919, p. 657; *Haverford News*, 6 mo. 13, 1919, with portrait; also daily press of New York and Philadelphia, 5 mo. 31, 1919, and following days.

Hodgkin, Thomas Edward. Died 9 mo. 10, 1921, in his forty-ninth year. Eldest surviving son of the late Dr. Thomas Hodgkin. Biographical notices in *The Friend* (London), 9 mo. 23, and 10 mo. 7, 1921, the latter with portrait.

Sharpless, Isaac, 1848–1920. For biography and list of writings see the Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society, 9 (1920): 90 ff.

Thomas, Allen C., 1846–1920. For biography and list of writings see Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society, 10 (1921): 42 ff.

Wells, William Frederic. A sketch of his life, with portrait, is in *The Friend* (London), 9 mo. 9, 1921. He was a member of the Six Weeks Meeting for over fifty years, and its Clerk for forty-eight years; Clerk of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting since 1874; Chief Doorkeeper of London Yearly Meeting for just over one fifth of the time since it first met in 1668. He died, as the result of an accident, 8 mo. 23, 1921, aged seventy-eight years.

BUCKINGHAM MEETING HOUSE IN 1922
BUILT 1768